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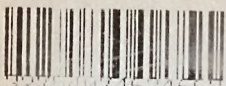
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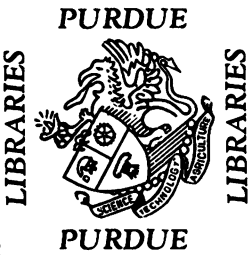
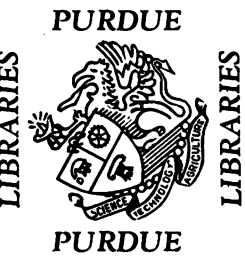
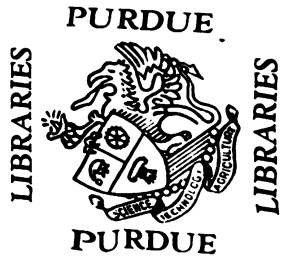
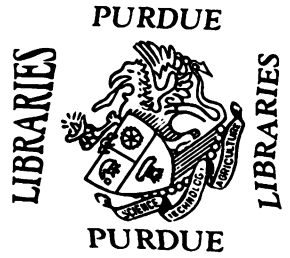
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# M.H.R.A.

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HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

*Edited by*

H. J. CHAYTOR

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## THE EUSTACE LEGEND IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

SINCE the first mention of St. Eustace in a Greek MS. of the eighth century, the story of this soldier saint has been told and retold in many forms and in many languages during a period of more than ten centuries. It is a somewhat bewildering task to trace this legend from the earliest Greek and Latin texts, to follow it through a vast multitude of medieval versions, to see it re-appearing again and again in the drama and verse of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and to find the last trace of it in nineteenth-century literature.

Briefly told, the story is as follows :

Placidus was a Roman general under the Emperor Trajan. One day, while hunting, he saw the image of Christ between the horns of a stag, and was converted to Christianity by this miraculous vision. He was baptized with his wife and sons, and took the name of Eustace. Christ appeared again to him and asked if he would prefer to suffer immediately, or at the end of his life, all the tribulations which were to be his lot. Eustace chose the present, and, returning home, he was at once plunged into a series of overwhelming disasters. His servants and his cattle died of pestilence, robbers took all his goods, and Eustace fled with his wife and sons. They embarked on a ship, but, as they had no money to pay their passage, the captain kept Eustace's wife, and Eustace, threatened with death if he resisted, was compelled to depart with his two sons. Soon after, while carrying his boys one at a time across a river, Eustace sees the children snatched away, one by a lion, the other by a wolf. They are rescued by shepherds and brought up in the same town, but their father, thinking his sons are dead, arrives in a town called Dadissus, where he earns his living as a peasant. Fifteen years later the Emperor being again at war, sends urgent messengers to search for Placidus. Two soldiers, arriving in

Dadissus, find him and recognize him by a scar on his head. Eustace returns with them to Rome, calls together an army, and sets out against the enemy. Among his new recruits are his two sons. The fighting takes place in the country to which the ship's captain had brought Eustace's wife, and where she now lives alone after his death. Her two sons are quartered in her house, and one day they tell each other the story of their childhood and how they had lost their parents, and find they are brothers. The mother hears them and knows they are her sons. Going to the Roman general to beg him to take her back to her own country, she recognizes Eustace, and tells him his sons are alive. All four return to Rome with great rejoicing. Meantime Trajan has been succeeded by Hadrian, who, on the return of the army, asks Eustace why he does not join in the sacrifice to the gods. Eustace says he is a Christian, and Hadrian orders him to be put in the arena with his family in presence of a lion. When, however, the lion bows down before them, Hadrian, in a fury, sends the four Christians to be burnt to death in a brazen bull. Three days later the four bodies are taken out of the bull totally uninjured by the fire. The emperor, terrified by this miracle, flees. The Christians bury the martyrs, and later on build a church in memory of them.

It is certain that this romantic story goes back, not to one, but to many sources. Nor must it be forgotten that Placidus, being a soldier before he became a saint, ranks among those martyrs to whom the medieval mind ascribed the greatest glory—namely, military saints—and that, for the compilers of hagiographical legends, no exploit was so improbable but that it might be attributed to one or other of those famous warriors who crowned a life of adventure by a martyr's death. Additions to earlier documents being justified in works whose aim was edification, these compilers have woven round the names of such fighters as St. George and St. Eustace tales of adventure as strange and romantic as anything that profane literature has to offer.

The only source indicated by the author of the Eustace legend is the Bible. Placidus is compared to various biblical characters, chiefly Cornelius, St. Paul, and Job. He resembles Cornelius by the good works he did while still a pagan. His conversion recalls that of St. Paul, and his tribulations those of Job. Other episodes are also taken from the Bible. The stag speaking to Placidus is compared to Balaam's ass. The lion bowing down before Eustace recalls a similar episode in the Book of Daniel, but may also be inspired by the story of Androcles. For the brazen bull we have the fiery furnace, where the three young men, imprisoned by order of Nebuchadnezzar, were miraculously preserved from death, but again we find a similar story in mythology—namely, the bull of Perillus.

To these episodes borrowed from the Bible must be added several motives of a popular nature, which are found in many other legends, and of which there exist ramifications in almost all literatures. The principal motives of this kind are the following: (1) The vision of the stag; (2) loss of children at river crossing; (3) man who is asked to choose his lot; (4) man who loses all his possessions and goes into exile; (5) reunion of family after long separation. The study of these motives has already attracted many savants, who have traced them to a series of Oriental tales belonging to different countries such as Armenia, Turkey, Arabia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Syria, Russia, Kashmir, Thibet, Punjab, Persia, etc. Several of these tales are also incorporated in the *Arabian Nights*. Most of them originated in India, and are of pre-Buddhist origin. They became exceedingly popular in Western literature, and versions of them are found in England, France, Italy, Spain, etc. Consequently, there is a whole series of works which, since they contain one or more of these above-mentioned motives, show a more or less marked resemblance to the story of St. Eustace. Of these numerous works the following are the best known: *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Belle Helène*, *Comte de Savoie*, *Cavaliero Cifar*, *Sir Bevis*, *Sir Isumbrace*, *Eglamour*, *Torrent of Portyngale*, *Gesta Romanorum*. As none of these works is older than the story of St. Eustace, it is the latter in some form or other which has been used, directly or indirectly, by the authors of the other tales.<sup>1</sup>

According to the legend, Eustace died about the year 120, but it is not until the eighth century that we find the first mention of him. John of Damascus, writing in 726, quotes a Greek version of the *Life of St. Eustace*. During the same century a church was founded in Rome in his honour, and from that time his name is found in Roman martyrologies. It is evident that by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (a) "La Leggenda di S. Eustachio," by A. Monteverdi, in *Studi Medievali*, vol. iii., p. 171.

(b) "Les Origines de la Légende de Saint Eustache," by H. Petersen, in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, No. 26. 1925.

(c) *A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre*, by P. Ogden. Baltimore. 1900.

(d) "Forerunners, Congeners, and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend," by G. H. Gerould, in *Publications of the M.L.A. of America*, vol. xix. 1904.

(e) "Die Eustachius legende, Christians Wilhelmsleben, Boeve de Haumtone und ihre orientalischen Verwandten," by M. Jordan in *Herrig's Archiv.*, vol. cxi., p. 341.

(f) "Rythmus des Placidus-Eustachius," by W. Meyer, in *Nachr. von der Königl. Gesellschaft*, p. 226. Göttingen. 1915.

(g) *Les Légendes de St. Eustache et de St. Cristophe*, by H. Delehaye. 1912.

this time a Latin *Life of St. Eustace* already existed, but the oldest MS. now known of the Latin *Life* dates only from the tenth century. The Latin version is a translation of the Greek *Life*. Both these texts have been printed by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum* (September 20). Few works have been so much read, transcribed, translated, and adapted as this famous Latin *Life of St. Eustace*. Literal translations, free translations, dramas, mystery plays, epic poems, hymns, sermons, and tales—all these forms are represented in this mass of Eustacian literature derived from the Latin *Vita*. Another Latin version,<sup>1</sup> also dating from the tenth century, is less well known than the first, and, being somewhat shorter, omits many important details found in the first *Vita*. Later on, while medieval translators were busy rendering the legend into their own tongues, other compilers made résumés and adaptations of it in Latin for legendaries and other works. Vincent of Beauvais, for instance, introduces a version of the *Vita* into his *Speculum Historiale*, while Jacobus de Voragine brings the story of Eustace into his famous collection, the *Legenda Aurea*, which in its turn has been translated over and over again into many languages.

The earliest of the numerous translations of the *Vita* into a vulgar tongue appeared in England in a series of Lives of Saints, written about the year 996 or 997 by Ælfric. In this work the Eustace legend, unlike most of the others, has been translated into prose, not verse, and Ælfric has given a very close rendering of the Latin text. I have compared the translation of Ælfric with the Latin text of the Bollandists, and it is certain that Ælfric consulted a Latin manuscript version which was much fuller and much more correct than that printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Again, the comparison of Ælfric's version with the earliest known manuscript of the *Vita*—a manuscript of the tenth century (Bibl. Nat., Latin, 5577)—shows that Ælfric had access to a Latin version very similar to this one. Various points of difference, however, show that this was not the actual manuscript used by him. Nevertheless, the resemblance is very close, especially when one remembers that the *Vita* must have been copied and recopied with an ever increasing number of variations in a great number of manuscripts. It must be remembered also that as Ælfric was a renowned Latin scholar, there may have been faulty readings in his Latin manuscript which he would correct

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, III. *Florilegium*. A critical edition is found in the *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft zu Göttingen*, 1916. The editor, W. Meyer, maintains that this is the original text of the *Vita*. A close comparison of the two texts shows that this theory is improbable.



before translating. For example, in the following passage from MS., B.N., 5577, "*Da vero Domine, comminationem ignis in terrorem transferri,*" the word *terrorem* is a mistake for *rorem*. Ælfric translates *rorem*, and would probably have done so, even if his Latin original had offered the reading *terrorem*, which from the context is obviously wrong.

At the time when Ælfric wrote St. Eustace does not seem to have been celebrated in the Anglo-Saxon Church. Ælfric writes in his preface: "We translated in the two former books the Passions and Lives of the Saints whom the English nation honoureth with festivals; now it has seemed good to us that we should write this book concerning the sufferings and lives of the Saints whom monks in their offices honour amongst themselves." He also adds that he does not wish to write many Lives of Saints in English, "lest the pearls of Christ be held in disrespect, and because of the many subtle points which even the clerks do not grasp."

Ælfric gives at the end of his translation the Kalends of November as the day of martyrdom of St. Eustace, but in his collection of Lives he places St. Eustace under the date of September 20. Those two dates are frequently given in other versions; but in different localities the festival of St. Eustace was celebrated on various dates, chiefly, no doubt, because the Kalends of November was already the Festival of All Saints. The second Latin version—the shorter translation of the Greek text—gives as the date of Eustace's death May 20. This date is never found either in English or French versions of the legend.<sup>1</sup>

After Ælfric's translation of the *Vita*, we find no other version of the Eustace story in England before the thirteenth century. After that the legend becomes very popular, not only in England, but in many other European countries. Between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries there are no fewer than twenty-four different versions of the legend written in French, of which thirteen are in prose and eleven in verse. Most of these versions

<sup>1</sup> A proof of the widespread popularity of the Eustace legend at a very early date is given by the fact that about the end of the tenth century—i.e., about the time when Ælfric wrote his translation of the *Vita*—there appeared in Upper Egypt a Coptic version of the same legend. This was probably translated directly from the Greek text. It was found in a MS. belonging to an Egyptian monastery. The lives of martyrs contained in this MS. have been published with an English translation by Sir Ernest Budge, who in his preface shows the great importance of these texts, the discovery of which brought to light valuable information on the subject of the early history of Christianity in Egypt (*Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, edited by Sir E. Budge. London, 1914).

have been made directly from the text of the *Vita* or from later Latin versions. Two of them are literal prose translations of the first Latin *Vita*. One of these, preserved in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 2464), is a very interesting work, written in a popular style by a man who, though he was a conscientious translator, was certainly not such a great Latin scholar as Ælfric. Sometimes he fails to grasp the meaning of the original or he misreads his text. In some cases it is difficult to say whether a mistake is due to the ignorance of the French translator or the carelessness of the Latin scribe. For example, when Placidus had called together his recruits, whom he then *taxavit in numeros*, Ælfric understands *numeros* in the sense of troops, and speaks of Placidus having arranged his soldiers in battle array; but the French translator renders the passage into French as if it had been *taxavit in humeros*, and says that Eustace marked each of the recruits on the *shoulder*, "*il mercha chascun e seigna en l'espaule*." Again, when Eustace was thrown into the arena to be devoured by a lion, the French author translates *arena* by *areinne*, and considers it necessary (though otherwise he adds practically nothing to his text) to introduce here a short explanation of the meaning of *arena*, but instead of the Roman arena of the second century, he describes a French tilting-ground of the Middle Ages :

"*L'areinne si estoit une mult grant place en Rome ou li vallet jooient a l'escremie e les damoiseles i faisoient lor bauz e lor queroles. Li damoiseil i poignoient lor chevax, li champion i donoient les cox l'empeoreor e li bacheler i jooient a l'escremie as borreaus e as talevaz. Por tex jeus e por autres s'asembloient iluec as festes cil de la cité*" (MS., B.N., 2464, fol. 58 recto).

The second French prose translation of the *Vita* (MS., B.N., 818) is very literal indeed. The two following examples will give a sufficient indication of this peculiar style: The word *præcellens* is rendered by *devantpuianz*, while the expression *quæ a tibi decreta sunt* is translated by *les decretes choses de toi*.

Of the eleven French rimed versions of the legend, six at least are translated directly from the Latin *Vita*. The first is by Pierre de Beauvais.<sup>1</sup> The second is found in the MS. 792 of the Bibliothèque de Ste. Geneviève. The remaining four are in Anglo-Norman, and were written in England. It is significant that the legend of St. Eustace, for the most part a romantic Eastern tale, should figure so largely in Anglo-Norman literature. Although these poems bear the unmistakable mark of the pious literature so common in the Anglo-Norman period, yet they differ

<sup>1</sup> Edited by J. Fisher in the *Romanic Review*, vol. viii., 1917.

considerably from the many colourless poems which were the usual product of this didactic tendency.

The first Anglo-Norman life of St. Eustace is found in a manuscript of the Philipps Library, Cheltenham (No. 4156). It has been published in *Romania* (vol. xlviii.) by H. Petersen. The author of this version follows the Latin *Vita* very closely, though he adds now and again a pious interpolation. The introductory lines of the poem are of considerable interest. The author says he is translating from Latin into *romanz*, which both *clerc e lai* understand. Then he adds :

*Par la grace deu humblement  
Voil faire cest purposement,  
E pur mun frere espiritel  
Ki plus m'est pres que le charnel.*

It seems clear that the translator was thinking of his fellow-monks ; and this suggests that in the thirteenth century, as in the time of Ælfric, St. Eustace was honoured, not so much by the general people as by the monks. This view is supported by another passage at the end of the poem, where the translator mentions the date of martyrdom of St. Eustace as being the first day of November, and then adds that, as that date is All Saints' Day, it must be celebrated as such, but, on the day following, the monks usually honour St. Eustace by special services :

*Solent li clerc en seint eglise,  
A cel jor fere mult lel servise  
pur Seint Evestace honurer.*

Although the translator as a rule follows in all its details the story of the *Vita*, yet he mentions at the beginning of his poem a point which does not belong to the earliest version of the legend—namely, the supposed etymology of the name Placidus, from *placere* :

*Placidus out nun proprement,  
Kar plaisir sout a bone gent.*

This etymology, however, is found in other Latin versions, and later on becomes very popular, as it is used in the *Legenda Aurea*, and in Jean de Vignai's French translation of it.

Paul Meyer was of opinion that this text is of Continental origin, but as Anglo-Norman characteristics are very numerous and Anglo-Norman rimes frequent, it is much more probable that it was written in England. Rimes such as *ier : er, ien : en*, frequent changes of conjugation attested by rime—*formir, rampir*,

*confortir*, etc.—would not be found in a Continental text of this period.

The second Anglo-Norman *Life of St. Eustace* is found in a MS. belonging to the Chapter Library in York Cathedral. It has also been published in *Romania* (1925) by H. Petersen. This version, also based on the Latin *Vita*, is written in lines of ten syllables, and is quite an independent translation, having no connection whatever with the Cheltenham version. There are very few interpolations in this text, but, at the end of his translation, the author adds four lines in which he gives his name, *Guille de Fereres*. This is the name of various Earls of Derby of this time.

*Guille de Fereres out non vereiment,  
Ki cest romanz escrit tut premerment.  
Deu gart la sue alme e défende de mal  
E nus tuz ensement de peché criminal.*

The translator gives no date for the martyrdom of St. Eustace, but according to a York missal of the period, the festival of St. Eustace was celebrated in York Cathedral on November 2, i.e., the same day on which, according to the Cheltenham version, the monks paid special honour to St. Eustace. In York the Mass for St. Eustace on November 2 ends with the following prayer: *Sicut beatus Eustachius cum sociis suis quæsumus, Domine, in cæleste claritate purus rutilat, sic sancta quæ sumpsimus, illis intercedentibus, puros nos tibi efficiat.* The York Breviary gives as a reading for St. Eustace Day a short account of the Saint's life, reproducing the main facts of the *Vita*, of which it is a brief summary.

The York version of the legend is not quite so full as the Cheltenham text. The etymological explanation of the name Placidus is not given. One or two minor points of the story are omitted, such as the episode of Eustace being given a choice between present and future tribulation. Otherwise the author follows the *Vita* with considerable fidelity. Only occasionally do we find that the exigencies of the rhyme or a particularly difficult Latin reading compel him to amplify or alter his text.

The third Anglo-Norman *Life of St. Eustace* bears the heading: *Co est la vie Seint Eustace e ses cumpainuns de latin translaté en fraunceis.* This text is found in a MS. of Trinity College, Dublin, and has been published by Mario Esposito in *Textes et Études de Litt. Ancienne et Médiévale*, i., Florence, 1921. Again the author follows the Latin *Vita* as closely as his somewhat mediocre talent as a versifier will allow. There is no doubt as to the origin of this text, as it shows to a very marked degree all the characteristics of Anglo-Norman which have already been quoted



above from the Cheltenham version. To these may be added other traits, such as the assimilation of verbs in *eir* to the *er* conjugation: *puer* (i.e., *poeir*); *amer* (*amare*); *chaleir*: *apeler*; frequent elision of the vowel *e*; use of such forms as *receverum*, *averum*; *remis* for *remes* (*remise*: *maumise*); anglicisms such as *deus le cel munta*, etc. In the versification also, the presence of a great number of lines which are either too short or too long recalls a well-known tendency in Anglo-Norman verse of the thirteenth century.

The Dublin version corroborates to some extent the statement made in the Cheltenham text as to the place of St. Eustace in the church worship of the thirteenth century. The author tells us that St. Eustace Day is the 2nd of November (*la quarte none de novembre*), which, he explains, is the day after All Saints' Day.

*Ke nus humme en dute seit  
Quant de eus la feste estre deit,  
La quarte none es remembree  
De novembre e pronunciee,  
Co est au demein k'em fet memorie,  
En cel e en tere joie e glorie  
De tuz seinz deu ke sunt esliz  
Ke entre eus les unt acoiliz.*

(*fol. 21 verso.*)

It is very probable that the first two lines ought not to be taken too literally. The author may have wished to indicate that people were doubtful as to which was St. Eustace Day, but it is also possible that this is only a lengthy way of stating a simple fact which rime and metre made it difficult to express briefly, minor amplifications of this kind being frequent throughout the text, and for no other obvious reason than to simplify the task of verse-making. It is to be noted also that if the Dublin and the Cheltenham texts both mention November 2 as the festival of St. Eustace, it is only the latter of these two versions which indicates that it was only the clergy and not the laity who honoured St. Eustace in this way.

The comparison of these three Anglo-Norman texts brings to light many points of considerable interest regarding the vocabulary of the three translators. Sometimes the same Latin word seems to puzzle them all—for example, note how the word *arena* has been rendered in the following passage:

*Considerans igitur imperator immutabilem ejus in Christo fidem, jussit eum cum uxore et filiis introduci in arenam et dimitti eis leonem.*

## THE EUSTACE LEGEND

*Mes li tirant par maltalent,  
 Comandat mult hastivement  
 Mener Evestace el gravier  
 Od ses fiz e od sa mulier,  
 Puis firent un leun mener  
 Pur les seins martirs devorer.*  
 (Cheltenham.)

*Tost cumaunde ke seient liez,  
 Cume fussent larruns pruvez,  
 Sur les sabeluns de la mer ;  
 En haste les i fet mener,  
 Pus fet venir un graunt leun  
 Ke famulus fu e mut felun.*  
 (Dublin.)

In these two versions *arena* has been understood in the sense of *sand*, which was the usual meaning of the Old French word *areine*. The York translator, on the other hand, seems not to have understood *arena* at all, judging from his awkward attempts to avoid the word altogether.

*Kant il les ne pout mettre en cel error,  
 Tuz quatre les fait ileoc ledenger,  
 E fist un leon familus deslier ;  
 Il quidout ke a veire les devorast tuz quatre,  
 Mes Jhesu Nostre Sire fit iloc miracle.*

Still another Anglo-Norman *Life of St. Eustace* was written during the thirteenth century. Of this *Life* only a very short fragment has been preserved (MS., Digby, 86, published in *Cod. Manuscript Digby 86*, by Stengel, Halle, 1871), but this fragment is sufficient to indicate that the whole poem is absolutely independent of the above three, and is very probably another translation of the Latin *Vita*.

Before the end of the thirteenth century the St. Eustace legend was known in English. A MS., written about 1280 or 1290 (Laud, 108), contains a version of the legend in the Southern dialect. This version is somewhat shorter than the text of the *Vita*. It is probably adapted from a later Latin text, such as the thirteenth-century one on which Jacobus de Voragine based the version which he incorporated in the *Legenda Aurea*.<sup>1</sup> The author of this English poem does not mention the day of the commemoration of St. Eustace, but, on the other hand, he tells us the year of his martyrdom :

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum. See P. Meyer, *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xxxvi.

An hondred zer i-passede weren : and twenti also  
 After ore louerdes buyrtyme : þat huy weren to depe ido.  
 pus seint Eustas mid is wif : and mid is sones cam  
 To þe heize Joye of heovene : þoruz strong martyrdom.

Another English version, this time in the Northern dialect, bears a much closer resemblance to the Latin *Vita* and to the Anglo-Norman translations. This version, published in Herrig's *Archiv.* (vol. lvii.), may possibly have been translated from a French version, but, if so, it is not based on any of the rimed versions which are taken literally from the *Vita*, as it reproduces some episodes quite foreign to the Latin text. For instance, the English translator says that Eustace's wife, when left alone after the death of the ship's captain,

. . . fedde hire wiþ hire nelde and prede.

As to the commemoration of St. Eustace, the author of this poem only indicates it indirectly by saying that there is no festival held in honour of St. Eustace, as all the saints are honoured on that day :

Of þeos Martires is mad no feste,  
 ffor alle seyntes, lest and meste,  
 Beoþ worschiped in holichirche þat day,  
 þat þei dyed for Cristes lay.

Another rimed version, attributed to Barbour, and written in the Scottish dialect, follows the text of the *Vita* with considerable fidelity, and was probably translated directly from a Latin original, the *Legenda Aurea* being in all likelihood the chief source of this work.

We come now to a prose version of the Eustace legend which appears in the collection of English tales known as the *Gesta Romanorum*, and compiled probably about the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. This version has no connection whatever with the *Vita*, and probably goes back to an earlier form of the story, an Eastern form, in which the hero is a soldier but not a Christian martyr. In fact, there is no question of Christianity or miraculous conversion in this text at all, and the story has a happy ending. Note also that the hero's name is not mentioned ; he is merely called a *Knyght*, and the Emperor is called Averios. The main facts of the tale are as follows :

Walking in a forest one day, the knight heard a bird singing sweetly, and longed to know the meaning of the song. An old man appeared, who explained that the bird was foretelling that the knight should go to a great tournament held at the Emperor's court and should suffer great tribulation which afterwards would

be turned to joy. The knight prepared to set off with his wife and sons. Just before they departed, a great fire broke out and consumed all their possessions. They embark on a ship, and after the voyage the captain retains the knight's wife for payment. Crossing a deep river with his sons, the hero sees them snatched away, the one by a lion and the other by a bear. Alone and sorrowful, he arrives at the Emperor's court, and, taking part in the tournament, fights so well that he is appointed general of the Emperor's army. One day he finds a precious stone of three colours—white, red, black. According to a lapidary whom he consults, this stone can bring joy to the possessor and restore to him whatever he has lost. Leading his army to battle some time later, he is struck particularly by the valour of two young soldiers. These two youths, conversing together after the battle, tell each other the history of their childhood, and find they are brothers. They are overheard by their mother, who is in the same house, and who immediately makes herself known to her sons. The next day the general meets in the street the two soldiers and their mother, and she, recognizing his voice, kneels down before him and calls him her husband. After this happy reunion we read that the knight went back to his country *with his wife and with his children and ended faire his life*.

Then follows the moral, in which the whole tale is explained as an allegory. The Emperor is Christ, calling us to a tournament of penitence. The knight and his family are Christians. At the same time the wife represents the Flesh, which at all times ought to be in subjection to the Spirit. The two sons are Reason and Will. The bird which sings is the Holy Ghost. Its song is Divine Grace. The fire is the love of God, which burns up all our vices so that we may love God more than all things. The ship is Penance. The abandonment of the woman in the hands of the captain indicates that the Christian should leave his *flesh with a discrete confessor*. The two sons accompany the Christian, but Reason, being depressed at the river-crossing, is snatched away by the lion—*i.e.*, the Devil—and the Will becomes the prey of Earthly Works. The peasants who rescue the two sons are Preachers and Prelates. The Knight is appointed leader of the army—*i.e.*, the Christian becomes master of himself. The stone of three colours is Christ, and the colours represent the Might of the Father, the Wisdom of the Son, and the Meekness of the Holy Ghost. This stone turns heaviness to joy, and is the symbol of Everlasting Life.

This form of the story resembles several of the Eastern tales which have been mentioned above as being the sources of the legend. Like most of the tales in the *Gesta*, the Eustace legend



was probably often used by preachers chiefly because of its Christian morality, but even this may be partly of Eastern origin, as it is a fact that allegorical interpretations of a moral nature are not uncommon in Oriental tales. It is to be noted that the legend of St. Eustace appears also in the Latin version of the *Gesta*, but not in the same form as in the English *Gesta*. The version contained in the Latin *Gesta* is derived indirectly from the Latin *Vita*, and resembles the somewhat shorter text contained in the *Legenda Aurea*.

The version of the *Legenda Aurea* was chiefly known in England through the translation of Caxton. In his Foreword, the latter says that this book has already been translated, but that he, having before him a legend (*i.e.*, *Legenda Aurea*) in English, one in French (probably Jean de Vignai's), and one in Latin, found they differed much in divers places, and also that there were "many histories" in the French and Latin legend which were not in the English legend.

In many European countries the popularity of St. Eustace does not cease with the Middle Ages. In France, at least four writers of the seventeenth century chose St. Eustace as a subject for dramas or poems, while in Italy, Germany, Spain, etc., the same popular hero appears again and again. Nor were all these later works on St. Eustace considered as being unworthy of notice. That some of them attracted considerable attention is shown by the fact that they were reprinted a few times. An Italian *Life of St. Eustace*, for instance, which appeared in 1631, not only ran to five editions in a very short time, but was followed by a French translation in two editions and a Spanish translation in four editions. Compared with the long list of dramas and poems which continue to popularize the Eustace legend during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, English literature has little to show on this theme after medieval times. A sixteenth-century poem by Partridge and a dramatized version of it by John Chettle are among the last attempts made in England to maintain the popularity of a literary genre of which Protestants disapproved. After the Reformation, there was no place in English literature for pious tales like the Eustace legend, which owed so much to Oriental romance and worldly fancy, and which gave a place of honour to unknown saints.

J. MURRAY.

LEEDS.

## A FRAGMENT OF THE "CHANSON D'AVENTURE," FLORENCE DE ROME.

MR. S. C. COCKERELL, Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, has in his possession an album containing odd leaves and fragments of MSS., carefully mounted on cartridge paper. The volume was formerly one of the Phillipps MSS. (No. 15,758), and the contents appear for the most part to be fragments and leaves of vellum used by printers for backing their books and as fly-leaves. Three of them have an interest for the Romance philologist—a leaf from a fifteenth-century prose romance, which I have not been able to identify; a leaf giving 157 lines from the *Evangelies des Domees* (of which there is a MS. in the Cambridge University Library), and the leaf containing the following passage from "Florence of Rome," verses 4808-4886 of the edition by A. Wallensköld, *Anciens Textes Français*, 1907-1909. This leaf measures 14.2 × 9 centimetres, and has forty lines to a page. The recto side has a blank in the centre, presumably for an illumination which was not executed. This poem is preserved in two MSS., apart from other fragments, denoted M and P by the editor. Our leaf belongs to the line of tradition represented by M, as may be seen from the variants to lines 4818, 4822, 4823, 4878; it supplies lines omitted by M, though it is not so full a version as P.

- 4808 Et la femme Terri mult grant pitie en a,  
       La reine Florence simplement esguarda  
 4811 La dame esteit mult sage, parfitement pensa  
       Que onc tel traison par li comenca,  
       Ne Biatrix, sa fille, par son cors ne fola :  
       Onc si fol hardement en son cors ne entra,  
 4815 Mais alcon losengier le cotel i porta,  
       Que par grant traison mon enfant acora ;  
       La meschine hacit, bien poet estre piec'a,  
 4818 Por son cors encombrier le cotel li bailla,  
 4820 Par la grant felonie afoier la quida.  
       Murdre ne traison ne selera ja ;  
       Deu en face vengeance de celi qui fait l'a !  
       Qar de grant felonie li traitre se purpensa.

- Le feu fu alume delez un roche bise  
 4825 Ou l'en deit ardoir Florence la marchise ;  
 Illoec esteit Terri, plein de grant franchise.  
 Florence esteit devant, vestu en sa chemise,  
 A son col un mantel dont la pene fu grise,  
 Nu piez, eschevelee, ou atent son guise ;  
 4830 S'ot la char plus blanche que neis sor branche assis[e],  
 Et fu plus coloree que rose ou cerise.  
 4833 Et por ceo que Terri l'out en sa merci mise,  
 Et por la pour qu'ele ot a terre se li asise.  
 4835 Por ceo qu'ele plort, toz les altres atise.  
 N'oirez pas tel doel mes Terri lor devise  
 4839 Qui s'en ira quite, fei que dei seint Denise.  
 Eglantine sa feme s'en est mult entremise  
 4842 "Ne prenez mie garde, sui det a son servise ;  
 4843 Ja Deu ne place que moerge en tele guise,  
 Kar n'ad si bele femme de ci qu'en Venise.  
 4845 Sa mule si rendez et son bliaut de Frise ;  
 Ne partira pas de nus com femme entreprise  
 Que male gent eussent robee et malmise."  
 4852 "— Dame," dist Terri, "jeo l'otrei sanz devise."  
 Galains ad aporte tote sa robe et quise,  
 Puis amine la mule et la sele i ad mise.
- 4855 Garlains fu mult corteis, que d'illoec torna ;  
 Del comandement faire fortment se hasta.  
 Venuz est a l'estable, la mule i trova.  
 Ore poez bien savoir que bien la conrea,  
 Le panel et la sele sor le dos li posa,  
 4860 Le frein li mist el chief et le peitrel lasca ;  
 Quant bien l'ot atorne, a son seignor la mena.  
 Florence fu devant li, que tendrement plora ;  
 Si li chai as piez et merci li cria ;  
 Le chastelein Terri par la mein la leva.  
 4865 S'ele ot pour, ne vus esmerveillez ja,  
 De la cholor del feu que devant li flamba ;  
 Mes Deu la guari bien, en qui ele se fia,  
 Et li droiz qu'ele i out que bien delivra.  
 "Sire," ceo dist Florence, "ne me celez ja,  
 4870 Ou irra la chaitive, quant de ci tornera ?  
 Onc tant gentil femme a tel doel ne ala.  
 S'ele lo fasse geir ; mes nel geira ja :  
 Ja, si Deu plect, mispres a nul jor ne serra  
 La dolente esgaree ; ja Deu ne lui faldra.

50 FRAGMENT OF "CHANSON D'AVENTURE"

- 4875 Onc par cel seignor qui en la croiz se leissa  
 Pener et travailler, por ceo que nus ama,  
 Por son poeple reindre que d'enfern osta,  
 Onc par mal ma main ta fille n'atocha.  
 Por nient le jurreie, car nel crerrez ja.
- 4880 Pus que ceste chaitive per vos conduit n'aura,  
 Defendez vos homes, kar de tels i a  
 Tot me freient honte, jol sai bien piec'a.  
 Si deu m'aime de rien, mon cors me salvera.  
 " — Par mon chief," dist Terri, "ja nul de se movra
- 4885 Qu'il perde la teste, ja tant halt ne serra."  
 Quant l'entendi Macaire, dorement l'en pesa.

H. J. CHAYTOR.



## BOOKS RECEIVED

Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vol. viii., Nos. 1-2 : *Libro del Poema chiamato Citta di Vita composto da Matteo Palmieri Fiorentino*. Part I.; Books I-II. xv. By Margaret Rooke.

Miss Rooke is doing a service to Italian letters by printing this lengthy didactic poem, of which most writers upon Italian literature have hitherto been able to speak only by report. Composed between 1455 and 1464, its interest is increased by its connection with the picture sold to the National Gallery in 1882 under the name of Botticelli, and now ascribed to Francesco Botticini. Both book and picture were suppressed for some three centuries in consequence of a charge of heresy, and it was not until the eighteenth century that attention was again attracted to them. Miss Rooke gives us the first half of the poem in a copy from the Laurentian MS. ; this was damaged by water in the flood of the Arno in 1557, but the passages thus rendered illegible have been restored from the Magliabechian MS. We shall await the conclusion of this work with interest.

Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, vol. vii., No. 4 : *The Sources of the Tales and Romances written by Nathaniel Hawthorne before 1853*. By Elizabeth Lathrop Chandler.

*Low Comedy as a Structural Element in English Drama : From the Beginnings to 1642*. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. Pp. xi + 186. University of Chicago. Private edition.

The value of Miss Winslow's dissertation is mainly that of an elaborately constructed storehouse of facts, which, while entirely accessible to any student of pre-Shakespearean drama, require a certain amount of labour to assemble. Much material is dealt with. The "frequency" of low comedy elements in the pageant plays is given in a tabular form, and the bibliographical references appear to be reasonably complete. Yet, while admitting the thoroughness and patience which have gone to the composition of the work, it cannot be considered to be an outstanding piece of research. To give a list of comic elements, to classify them, and to draw conclusions as to their functions, is a task which demands no special aptitude ; and where Miss Winslow might have given us some stimulating theory of her own—as in the final chapter—she is content with a somewhat half-hearted allegiance to accepted

authority. Even in the chapter on Low Comedy in Shakespeare there is nothing which is at all new, and much which partakes of the school textbook.—T. R. H.

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## NOTES AND INQUIRIES

MR. A. EWERT, Lecturer in French to Oxford University, has in preparation an edition of the Anglo-Norman Guy of Warwick romance, which, apart from its intrinsic interest, should prove of value to students of Spanish literature in view of its connection with the Catalan romance, *Tirant lo Blanch*.

We are always glad to make announcements of this nature, whether of researches merely projected or approaching completion. Workers in the same field may often be saved from overlapping and consequent waste of time by timely information.

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Mr. W. H. Buckler, 1, Bardwell Road, Oxford, will be glad of any information concerning letters from Alfred de Musset to Rachel, written in 1836-40 or 1844-46. The French correspondent, for whom this inquiry is made, says :

“ Ces lettres, qu'on a vainement recherchées dans les papiers de Rachel—surtout depuis sa mort—sont demeurées introuvables, et les chercheurs les plus autorisés (Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, Maurice Clouard, pour ne citer qu'eux deux) s'accordent à affirmer qu'elles se trouvent actuellement en Angleterre. Cela reste bien vague, d'autant plus qu'on ne peut préciser à quel moment elles ont fait la traversée. . . . ”

It is scarcely conceivable that a batch of such letters should have been destroyed ; and as Rachel was “ brouillée ” with Musset between 1840 and 1844, it is possible that she left in this country in 1841 or 1842 the letters of the first period (1836-40)—which may be the ones to which those “ chercheurs ” refer.

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Hugo Schuchardt died on April 21 (he was born in 1842). We have received an article written by his colleague, Professor A. Zauner, of Graz, in the *Tagespost* of Graz, which recalls Schuchardt's extraordinary linguistic capacity and his services to Romance philology. Best known by his treatise, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, his researches covered a vast field, ranging from Basque literature to folklore.

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## QUARTERLY NOTES

THE *Bibliography of English Language and Literature* for 1926, edited by Miss D. Everett and Miss M. E. Seaton, will be published in the early autumn, and may be obtained by members, through the Hon. Treasurer, for 3s. 3d., and by non-members, through any bookseller, for 6s. As in previous years it will incorporate the results of the collaboration of many foreign contributors, whose help the Association gratefully records in the preface. Those ordering copies of this volume would do well to place a standing order for future volumes at the same time.

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The Hon. Secretary wishes particularly to call the attention of members to the Index to vols. xi. to xx. of the *Modern Language Review*, which was recently published at 5s. net. This Index might have been made part of the volume, which would have deprived subscribers to the *Review* of some eighty pages of reading matter, but, in the desire to keep the size of the *Review* up to the normal, the committee took the risk of publishing the Index separately. Unfortunately, many of our most regular subscribers have not purchased the Index, although it is in reality a very valuable work of reference, having been compiled with great care and in great detail. There is a deficit of over fifty pounds on the Index at present, and it is earnestly hoped that all regular subscribers will send the additional sum of 5s. with their subscription (15s.) to the *Review* for 1927.

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The following Publications have been received, and forwarded to the Editor of the *Bibliography of English Language and Literature: Research in the Graduate School of Yale University* (Report of Wilbur Lucius Cross, Dean); New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.; 1926. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*; edited by Carleton Brown; vol. xlii., No. 1; March, 1927. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*; edited by Carleton Brown; vol. xlii., No. 2; June, 1927. *Philological Quarterly*; vol. vi., No. 1; April, 1927. *Lehigh University Publications*; vol. i., No. 2; March, 1927. *Philological Quarterly*; vol. vi., No. 2; January, 1927. *New Currents and Tendencies*

*in Linguistic Research* ; reprinted from *M.N.H.M.A.* ; Prague, 1927.

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The Hon. Treasurer acknowledges with many thanks the undermentioned contributions to the Capital Fund : H. F. Eggeling, Esq., 7s. 6d. ; smaller sums, 7s. 6d. Sums large or small are always received very gratefully, and may conveniently be added to the annual subscription.

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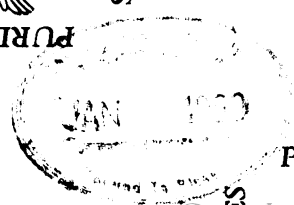


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